1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

sees many things in a muddled dream they do not come true. The period that elapses between a dream and its fulfilment is variable—it may be a week or it may be several months. 787 828

A sickness called *fofanga*, which is manifested by a "bad stomach" and results in "doubling up" or even death, is caused by dreaming that a man comes and feeds the dreamer pork, fowl, and other rich food. [753]

A sickness called *takini*, painful urination, is believed to be caused by the frequent dreaming of sexual intercourse. The belief is that the visitant of the dreamer is a spirit (*tevolo*). [753] [831] [776]

MAGIC

Most of the extant magical practices are to be found in the formulas of the *faitoo* (doctors). Material presented here includes odds and ends of magical practices not largely concerned with curing. Malevolent magic is still practiced. Spoken words were believed to be effective too. Thus the term *talatukii* means to curse, to use imprecations so deadly and horrible, that the person against whom they were directed usually died from the effect. 789 755 754

Any medicine man or woman was called *faitoo*. The house of a *faitoo* was called *falehangatamaki*. One informant said that this house was only that of a *faitoo* who treated boils and skin eruptions, and this statement is probably correct, as *hangatamaki* means any sickness or disease appearing upon the surface of the body. When confronted with a sickness about whose diagnosis he was in doubt, a *faitoo* passed his hands over the diseased part, repeating a formula which named every possible disease known and directed the medicine to cure any one or all of them. (See p. 343.) 756

When collecting the bark of the *tava* and *siale* (*Gardenia*) for medicine the collector always observes which part is towards the setting sun and collects the bark from that side. It is believed to be particularly efficacious, though no reason was given. [757]

One informant stated that his father had buried his umbilical cord and planted a coconut over it. As the tree flourished, so would the individual. I could get no corroboration of this as a practice. No other account of tree planting was obtained. Possibly fear that the tree might be killed and the person suffer make people reticent. 789 825 [846]

The story of the turtle Sangone mentions the magical stopping of growth and retention of childhood by striking a child on the top of the head (26, p. 50). 789

When a child's milk tooth is extracted it is thrown on the roof of a house, so that the second tooth will grow quickly. At the same time this rhyme is said: 789 856

Hinehina matailaila	White with spots	[539]
Omai hoo nifo kovi mooku	Give me your bad tooth	[538]
Kae o atu hoo nifo lelei moou.	But have a good tooth for yourself.	

That there is a ceremonial or lucky number in Tonga I did not definitely ascertain. That there was, or is, such a number seems likely and it may 777

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

be ten. Ten heads as trophies, or ten enemies slain, was the aim of each warrior. Ten sharks taken relieved fishing-canoe owners from further ceremonial observances. Ten constituted the winning number of points in dart-throwing (*sika*) and bowling (*fakateka*).

The term *tukutuku taumuli* is to make a new boat lucky. Whether it is an actual object or merely a ceremonial act, I did not learn.

Fishermen doubtless had many magical practices in connection with their profession. The following is a fisherman's call, bidding the fish to partake of the bait:

E kai mai, kai mai,	O, eat there! eat there!
E tuona, faona, kai ho'o feke kuo osi mama,	O pull, stretch, eat your masticated octopus,
E tuona, tuo tuona, faona mai kai ma,	O pull, pull steady, stretch there, eat there
Kai mai e.	O eat there!

Whether the call is used for shark fishing, I cannot say, but at any rate, the fishermen talk to the shark, directing its actions and soliciting its help. Often the shark is called Hina and is perhaps identified with that deity (26, p. 183).

The sea slug (*mulione*) when taken, is split in half along its lateral edge and the upper half thrown back into the water with the belief that a new slug will grow from it.

Weak children, when weaned, are fed on rats and cats to get back their strength, as these animals are said to be long lived and hard to kill. The same idea is involved in the use of the word *kuma* (rat) as a personal name for a child who nearly dies at birth. The name Kuma is believed to preserve his life.

To-day there is a certain amount of belief in witchcraft. A wizard or witch is called a *fakalouakau* (*louakau*, leaf; *lou*, leaf; *akau*, a tree or medicine). It seems likely, therefore, that interpreted literally *fakalouakau* means a person who operates with leaf medicine. The accounts of two informants which I obtained in 1920 stress the use of leaves in witchcraft.

An informant in Lifuka Island, Haapai, said that the sorcerer operates with different kinds of leaves rolled in a ball and wrapped in tapa, the ball being placed in the dwelling house or somewhere in the plantation of the victim to encompass his sickness and death or to cause his crops to fail. As the leaves in the ball rotted the victim was believed to sicken.

The second informant (or rather, pair of informants, a man and wife), interviewed on the island of Nomuka, Haapai, said that the aid of a *tevolo* was necessary for success in witchcraft. A man who became a wizard went into the bush and prepared a bamboo tube in which he put the leaves. The informant said that if a person steals up close to the wizard he will hear

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

For an inferior person (petty chief, matapule, or commoner) to walk by a chief's house smoking is an affront; also riding horseback, carrying an umbrella, wearing a turban (*fau*), or having a garland (*sisi*) around the neck, although a *sisi* around the waist is permitted. Conversation must stop in passing a chief's house. Breaches are subject to punishment by thrashing, often by the chief himself. The conception of a supernatural punishment seems not to be entertained.

The Hihifo district of Tongatabu is tapu. No one is allowed to sing or to yell, either in settlements or in the bush. Drums may not be beaten. People must not run about in the town, and all must wear ragged mats (*taovala*) as signs of humility. These rules are enforced because of the Tui Kanokupolu and are observed in Hihifo whether the Tui Kanokupolu is in Hihifo or in Nukualofa. Again no supernatural punishment followed a breach of these rules.

OCCUPATIONAL CEREMONIAL

Christianity has been too long established is Tonga to permit of much information being obtained to-day concerning religious practices for the furtherance of various occupations. Apparently the greatest of all ceremonials of this character was the *inasi*, or Harvest Festival, which obviously had as its aim the perpetuation of agricultural welfare. It was in honor of Hikuleo, but the offerings were brought to the Tui Tonga, whom Farmer (23, p. 129) says was the high priest of this deity, a statement which cannot be verified to-day. Cook (19, p. 336) witnessed an *inasi* ceremony at which the Tui Tonga presided. The *inasi* is also described by Wilson (65, 66) and by Mariner (40,41).

Boat building, fishing, pigeon snaring, and presumably even rat shooting were preceded by ceremonial observances, but what these ceremonies were I did not learn except in the most casual way, as the following fragmentary notes indicate. Bishop Blanc (39, pp. 59, 60) describes observances in connection with shark fishing.

Just what ceremonies were performed at the launching of a vessel I did not learn. Before a new vessel could be boarded by a woman, however, a ceremony called *kopokivaka* was performed. This took place at or after the launching and was usually performed by a woman, though sometimes by a man.

The first shark caught in a new fishing boat (*tafaanga*) is called *tokialis*. A celebration in honor of this event bears the same name. When five sharks have been caught in a *tafaanga* another ceremony occurs, called *fakatoululoto*. When ten sharks have been caught in a *tafaanga*, a third ceremony takes place, called *fakatoulukoko*. Thereafter sharks may be caught without further ado.

In pigeon snaring a man stood on the lookout for the pigeons at the mound. At their first appearance in the distance, looking only as big as the *nono* (defined by Baker as an insect and by the informant Havili as an insect smaller than an ant), dances

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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perpetrator; theft, except it be consecrated property. [771]

16. Omens are considered direct indications of the gods to mankind: charms or superstitious ceremonies to bring evil upon any one are considered for the most part infallible, as being generally effective means to dispose the gods to accord with the curse or evil wish of the malevolent invoker; to perform these charms is considered cowardly and unmanly, but does not constitute a crime. [673] [787] [789]

The Tonga people universally and positively believe in the existence of a large island, lying at a considerable distance to the north-westward of their own islands, which they consider to be the place of residence of their gods, and of the souls of their nobles and matabooles. This island is supposed to be much larger than all their own islands put together, to be well stocked with all kinds of useful and ornamental plants, always in a state of high perfection, and always bearing the richest fruits and the most beautiful flowers according to their respective natures; that when these fruits or flowers are plucked, others immediately occupy their place, and that the whole atmosphere is filled with the most delightful fragrance that the imagination can conceive, proceeding from these immortal plants; [772] [775] [824] [825]

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

539 [128] written by Father Reiter parallel with a translation by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker.

Pea nae osi a Ata hono ngaohi, koe motua fonua ia. Pea nae ikai tupu aki ae kongo oe uanga a Kohai mo Koau mo Momo; ka naa nau tupupe kinautolu ihe uanga, pea fakahako ai ae kakai o mamani.

And Ata (island) was finished making and that was the first land. And were not made from the pieces of the worm (the men) Kohai (Who) and Koau (It is I) and Momo (Crumb); but they arose from the worm and the people of the world were their descendants.

Ka nae toki fekau e Tamapoulialamafoa, koe tui ia oe langi; pea mo Tangaloa Eiki, pea mo Tangaloa Tufunga, aia oku tuki toki, koia oku hingoa ko Tangaloa Tufunga, mo Tangaloa Atulongolongo, o nau fekau moe kau Tangaloa ke o hifo a hono tui o Ata. Pea nau pehe ange ki he faahikehe, ko Laufakanaa, hono hingoa: "Hau, koe Laufakanaa; ke ke alu ki lalo, ki mama; ko ena ho fonua, ko Ata; ke ke pule ai mo ke faiteliha ihe mea kotoape oe fonua koia. Pea ke alu koe, Laufakanaa moe matangi; ke ke fakatupu ha matangi: Ka ai ha vaka e matangi kovia, pea hau kiate koe Laufakanaa, o humai kiate koe mo kole mai kiate koe, pea ke tuku ha matangi lelei ki he vaka koia, ke alu lelei ihe vaka, pea tau lelei ki ha fonua e alu kiai; kae oua naake tuku ha matangi kovi, pea mate ai ae vaka ihe tahi, ka he fakatupu ha matangi lelei."

Then Tamapoulialamafoa commanded, —he was king of the sky; and (he commanded) Tangaloa Eiki, and Tangaloa Tufunga, who is axe-maker, and (hence) is called Tangaloa Tufunga (carpenter), and Tangaloa Atulongolongo, and he told the Tangaloa to send down a ruler for Ata. And they said to a god, Laufakanaa was his name (*lau*, speak; *fakanoa*, to silence): "Come you Laufakanaa; go below to the earth; there is your land, Ata; it is for you to rule and you may please yourself about everything in that land. And you go, Laufakanaa, and make the wind; you will create the wind. If there is a vessel that has bad (or stormy) winds, and (the people) come to you, Laufakanaa, and sue and solicit you, then you must give fair winds to that vessel, for the vessel to go (sail) well, and to anchor safely at the land to which it is going; and you must not give a bad wind, for the vessel to die (or to be lost) at sea, but you must create a good wind."

539 789 776 Koia oku nofo ai ae tevolo ko Laufakanaa ihe motu ko Ata, koeuhi ka ai leva ha vaka e matangi kovipe, pea alu leva o hu mo kole kia Laufakanaa ke ne tuku mai ha matangi lelei kihe vaka koia, pea loloi i he vaka koia. Pea loloi i he vaka koia ae ma o loloiaki ae niu ko ave ma ae tevolo ke kai; ko enau feilaulau, koeuhi ke ofa a Laufakanaa ihe vaka koia; pea folau leva ia, kuo tuku e Laufakanaa ae matangi lelei ke nau folau ai.

That is the reason why the god Laufakanaa dwells at the island Ata, because should there be a vessel that has bad wind, and (the crew) go and sue and solicit help from Laufakanaa, it is for him to give a fair wind to that vessel. Then (the people) of that vessel (must) cook the native bread (*ma*) with the oil of the grated cocoanut and take it to the god to eat; that is their offering to Laufakanaa, for him to love their vessel; and the vessel sails, and Laufakanaa gives a fair wind with which to sail.

539 Pea nae alo hifo a Laufakanaa mei langi mo hono kupenga o fai i Ata; koe kupenga ika koia oku toutai ika ae fonua koia. Oku nau fai ae aho ika oe Tui Tonga: Ka koe tupu i he kupenga nae o hifo e Laufakanaa.

And Laufakanaa went down from the sky with his fishing net and used it at Ata; and that (sort of) fishing net is used by (the inhabitants of) that land to fish. And they use it on the fishing day of the Tui Tonga: and that sort of net originated from the fishing net that Laufakanaa brought down with him.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

THE TONGAN AND THE FIJIAN MAGICIANS

Once it would seem that the magicians of Tonga were more skilled, or possessed more potent instruments for the working of spells, than the Fijians. Indeed, it is even claimed that *fakalouakau* (witchcraft) was taken from Tonga to Fiji. A very potent plant for the working of spells was *totofisi*, a plant with dark purplish leaves. A man went from Tonga to Fiji with branches of his plant, presumably of *totofisi*, and had trials with a noted witch doctor of Fiji.

The Fijian had a coconut shell dipper (*hohoni*) which would go and fetch water when he bade it. The Fijian sent his dipper off to get water, but the Tongan sent a branch after it to stop it, and the dipper was broken. There were other trials, but in all of them the Tongan's branches were too powerful for anything that the Fijian could do. When the Tongan returned home he left his branches with the Fijian, and since then Fiji, rather than Tonga, has been the home of magic and witchcraft.

THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME MAATU

The lords of Niua Toputapu are today called Maatu; but formerly their name was Latumailangi. The name is said to have been changed under the following circumstances.

A girl of Niua Toputapu, Veiongo, daughter of Fuimanono, was married to Finau Ulukalala of Vavau, and went to Vavau to live. After a time Latumailangi, lord of Niua Toputapu, went to Vavau to visit his kinswoman Veiongo, and while he and other chiefs were drinking kava a man came to the house in which they were seated to get the *maatu*, which was some part of the equipment for the bonito fishing but it is not clear just what is included in the term. The *maatu* was in the house, but the man could not enter because of the chiefs. He was walking about outside the house wondering what to do, when one of the chiefs noticed him, and asked him what he wanted. He replied that he had come to "get the fishing outfit" (*utu maatu*). Thereupon the chiefs told him to come into the house, and get what he wanted. Latumailangi was struck by the phrase *"utu maatu,"* and adopted it as his name. Later *"utu"* was dropped and Maatu remained as the name.

A more probable account, which is given on the authority of the late holder of the title, a remarkably intelligent man, states that the name Maatu came to Niua Toputapu from Uvea. A party of Uveans came to Niua Toputapu, and conceived a liking for the name Latumailangi. The chief of Niua Toputapu, therefore, gave his name Latumailangi to the chief of Uvea, and the Uvean gave the name of Utu Maatu to the lord of Niua Toputapu.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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FISHING

The villagers in Pangai do not have either easy or quick access to good fishing-grounds other than the nearby reefs. This is the reason why fishing does not bulk so largely in the work-activities of the men as it does in those of other villages. A few of the men most interested fish fairly consistently, selling their surplus fish to other households of the village. The majority of the men however, think fishing too onerous a job. They buy fish or canned meat when they have the ready money. For the rest of the time they subsist on a meatless diet. These men are of course still well aware of the various fishing-techniques. Some of these fishing-methods are mentioned in this section in order to show something of the ways in which the villager is able to use working-party methods to gain a desired end, to show also the survival of a few magical beliefs in this type of activity.

Shark-fishing is still the most organized of all fishing-methods. Typically, six or more men go in a cutter to the place called Matahina, off the coast of Vava'u proper, recognized as the best shark-fishing bed. Twenty dry coconut-husks have been fastened on a long wire. At Matahina the expert fisherman in charge *(toutai)* drops these husks into the water and jangles them together as he intones an ancient incantation calling on Hina to send sharks. If sharks approach but then disappear again, he uses another incantation to allay their coyness. If no sharks appear after repeated calls, the attempt is made again in other parts of the fishing-beds. When sharks appear round the cutter, a noose is slipped into the water, salt meat is spread in front of the noose and the effort made to draw the noose tight over the shark as it darts after the bait. A successful expedition will often catch many sharks by this method. Should the expedition be unsuccessful, the expert fisherman knows that someone back in the village has disturbed or interfered with his *falesiu* or "shark-house." This is a closed container—an empty kerosene tin, a box, a marine shell, or even a house—which the expert has designated as the "shark-house" for the expedition. This designation has rendered the container *tapu*. It has either been hidden if small, or ostensibly

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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closed if large. The discovery of this "shark-house" by unauthorised persons in the village is sufficient to give bad luck to the fisherman.

When the expedition returns with its catch of sharks, a conch shell-trumpet is blown while the cutter is still some distance away from Pangai. If this is the first time that this cutter has been successfully used for shark-fishing, a large feast will be prepared for the fishermen. If the cutter has been used before, only a small feast is necessary. The catch is divided by the expert in charge. Of a catch of say, fifteen sharks, one is given to the village overseer as the representative of authority, one is given to the pastor of the established church (both of these sharks are looked upon as tribute indirectly to royalty—to the representative of royalty, to the representative of the royal church), and the remainder are divided among the households of the village. A smaller catch would be divided in the same proportions. If a house has been used as the "shark-house," the expert makes *kava* in this house. After this *kava* has been drunk by the fishermen and all the other men of the village, the *tapu* is considered lifted from the house. If some small object has been used as a "shark-house," this object is taken inside the house in which *kava* is made. In both cases the formal making of *kava* lifts the *tapu*; the house or object may thereafter be used for any ordinary purposes.

Throughout the fishing, the preliminaries and the conclusion, the village expert fisherman for shark-fishing is in complete charge of the proceedings. He directs the expedition in every particular. The months from September to February are the official shark-fishing months.

Net-fishing methods for smaller fish are also employed. The hand-net may be used by one man or else a group of three or more men combine to use the European seine-net. The large net may be set during high water and left until low tide when the catch is taken and divided among the men, or else several men may hold the mouth of the net open while others beat the water with sticks and try to drive the fish into the net. No expert supervision is needed for this type of fishing.

For fishing which uses a long line of plaited coconut-sheets *(pola)*, more organization is necessary, and here the

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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plants. The above staples would be planted as required in such a way as to keep the amounts and proportions fairly constant. 241

Such is the fertility of the Pangai soil that only a small part of a man's *api* is used for garden-purposes. Thus Biukala controls three *api* which total about fifty acres. He allows a relative to garden two acres of one *api*. The remainder of this *api* is given over to bush and coconuts. The second *api* is not cultivated but is used for coconut-production. On the third *api* Biukala gardens about three acres for his own household needs, taking coconuts from the remainder. From these three *api* Biukala thus supports his own household and that of a relative as well as securing, under optimum conditions, about twenty-five tons of copra each year. Most villagers with their normally small *api* can easily produce enough food for their households (if they are reasonably industrious according to Tongan standards) and can also expect to obtain up to five tons of copra each year. 241 423 311

Such also is the fertility of the soil that there appear to be few beliefs, if any, of a magical nature associated with garden cultivation. The villager knows full well that most of what he plants will grow. Insect pests, high winds and hurricanes, excessive rain or excessive dryness will affect his harvest from time to time. But it is convenient today to look upon these natural events as God-sent against which the skill and hopes of man avail nothing. Similarly the influence of government agricultural experts and of agricultural teachers in the government and mission-colleges tends to inculcate a scientific fatalism where religious fatalism leaves off. Neither agricultural art nor religious excuse, taken singly or together, leaves much ground for specifically magical belief or practice. Garden magic therefore, is conspicuously absent in the emotional and intellectual make-up of the average Pangai cultivator. 241 789 [242] [654]

LIVESTOCK

Most households in the village own at least several pigs. These are necessary not so much for ordinary food-consumption but in order to fulfil feast obligations whenever these fall due at times of birth, marriage, death, visits of 231 504 529

even though this knowledge is used only for diagnosis and not specifically for treatment. Thus Sane, our housegirl, came to us one morning suffering from pronounced and painful swellings of the hand and arm. Everyone was greatly mystified by these swellings until it was remembered that on the day before, Sane had been gathering wild flowers in the village cemetery. She had noticed us on a nearby beach and had shouted and cried out to attract our attention. This noise had both disturbed, and been highly disrespectful to, the ghosts of the cemetery-dead. They had retaliated by sending swellings to Sane's arm and hand. The swellings disappeared in a day or so, but had Sane consulted a medicine man, the treatment would have been a course of massage. We have no record of any method of laying village ghosts by disturbing or rearranging the bones of a suspected troublesome corpse—a method noted by Collocott.

Many of the villagers are not averse to a consultation with the white doctor provided they do not have to make a two-hour trip to the hospital for this purpose, and provided, too, they are not necessarily expected to carry out the white man's treatment, especially if this treatment is surgical. They do not mind swallowing such medicines as aspirin or sodium phosphate; in fact, they rather welcome the opportunity to do this since the taking of such drugs rather increases their prestige in the community by giving them something of endless interest to talk about with their friends. Fear of the hospitalization and surgery which their government provides for them at no cost is partly a fear based on the novel and new-fangled, partly a fear based on the knowledge that in the past hospitalization has often been equivalent to a death sentence. This latter fear is very real among the villagers and, of course, often well-founded. Irresponsible white medical officers in the past have sometimes thought of their Tongan patients as unprotesting objects upon whom a surgical technique might be polished and refined, irrespective of whether or not immediate surgery was called for, and irrespective of resulting and perhaps unnecessary death.

This and other factors have resulted today in an attitude among many Tongans of going to hospital at so late

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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of the interminable religious discussions that are a feature of many *kava*-circles; by a study of dreams; by consideration of the form into which some of the fundamental anxieties of the culture are cast.

A brief extract from some of our field notes will be sufficient to indicate the way in which religion has become part and parcel of village life. We were talking casually one night with a group of men about the use of omens and other minor magical practises common in our own society. Then we asked for the Tongan equivalents of these folk-beliefs. All the men denied knowledge of any. Sesoni summed up their attitude by saying with emphasis and with unanimous approval, that when the villager is worried today, he prays to God to solve all his difficulties. He has no need for magical activities when prayer is the only thing that can help him. The important thing about this statement is not that the villager never observes magical *tapu*, but that he has come to look upon the Christian religion as an explanation for all of life's problems and difficulties.

It is unnecessary to consider evidence of the Tongans' belief in Christianity in detail.[30] Much of it stands in the records of Tongan church history for all to read. All that we do here is to suggest some further facets of the religious life of the village.

Table 14A shows that Pangai has a large Roman Catholic membership as compared with kingdom membership. The kingdom as a whole is 88 per cent. Protestant. Pangai is 78 per cent. Protestant. We have no particularly valid explanation for this difference. The first three Protestant churches in this table all represent varieties of fundamentalist Wesleyanism whose doctrinal differences are very obscure to the white inquirer—so obscure in fact, that

[30] For some of this evidence, see Beaglehole, Ernest, "Psychic Stress in a Tongan Village." *Proceedings*, Sixth Pacific Science Congress (in press), where the attempt is made to show the fundamental conflict situations in the present day village culture. Since this paper was completed Dr. Lopdell has recorded particulars of two further cases of Tongans suffering from mental illness as the result of trying to solve apparently insoluble conflicts between Tongan custom and white economic patterns. The interesting point in this context is that the conflicts have been worked out in terms of religious symbolism and ideology.

A. [See category 116, p. 126--Analyst]
A

20: Gifford E-5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

a reef at low tide, suddenly fell down with some sort of seizure. She was removed to the hospital. She declared that the ghost of her mother's brother had struck her violently across the face.

Exorcism for the driving out of spirits from possessed persons is still sometimes practised.

In the central province, Haapai, a man severed his connection with the Free Church and became a Mormon. His friends and relatives who were Free Church members, declared there would be no rest for his soul. In a few months he died. His widow and a relative were haunted by his ghost, which would rudely awaken them from sleep by shaking them. The nuisance was abated only when they resorted to his grave and broke up his skeleton. His visitations were thought to be a divine punishment for his disloyalty to the Free Church.

On the night following the excavation of some ancient burials on Kao Island the natives who were encamped a hundred yards from the tomb, said they heard wailing at the tomb. It was the "blood" of the deceased ancients bemoaning the removal of their bones.

Anciently the apparition of an illuminated native sailing vessel—a ghost ship—forboded the death of a chief. To-day European type vessels and even steamers appear as ghost-ships portending death.

In one of the more remote Haapai Islands is at least one Christian minister who places effective tabus on growing crops to prevent the inroads of pigs and rats. The writer has himself seen plantations guarded by both barbed wire and tabu badges. The latter were observed in two forms. One was a small package of pulverized herbs to cause illness in the trespasser. The other was a cocoanut leaf bound on the trunk of a tree as the emblem of Taufa the shark god. This bore with it the prayer that the trespasser might be bitten by a shark when next he bathed in the sea.

Christianity with its Sabbath and various "shalt nots" has found a ready ally in ancient heathen tabu. The tabu idea has simply been transferred to another set of concepts. For the same reason quarantines (tabus) against various islands or groups of islands are readily enforced by the medical authorities to-day. The game laws, too, are heeded

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

as a sign that if they met a certain man wearing a ragged loin-cloth they would know that they had to expect opposition. During the time when Taufaahau (King George I) was hesitating between Christianity and heathenism a shark came alongside the boat in which he was one day sailing. He seized his spear and made his throw an augury. If he missed, the shark was the god Taufa-tahi (Taufa of the Sea), but if his aim went true then it was just a shark. He missed, and thereupon threw into the sea two native Christians who were with him. The ancient Tui Tonga, Kauulufonua, in the midst of his victorious career, declared on the eve of battle that in the coming fight his followers should know whether his prowess were the effect of his own might or of the protection of a god. If he were wounded in front he owed his victories to the god, but, if behind, to himself. The event showed that he owed his successes to his own courage and skill.

Mariner relates that the spinning of a coconut and observing its position when again at rest was a common method of interrogating the unknown, particularly as to the fate of sick persons. An instance of this has already been mentioned.

WITCHCRAFT

Something has been said of magic when speaking of tabu, but a few further notes may be added. A non-malevolent but extremely disgusting example of sympathetic magic was related to me by a friend. On one occasion whilst he was at sea and exceedingly sea-sick an old native, unable any longer to endure the sight of his distress, begged to be allowed to drink his vomit as a sure way of checking his sufferings. In my friend's case the mere suggestion threatened to be effective by depriving him once and for all of all the organs by virtue of which a man can be sea-sick.

But given magic there naturally follows man's effort to gain magical control over his fellows. The usual terms applied to the black art in Tonga are *hangatamaki* and *fakalouakau*. An excellent note on the former term is contained in Mr. Murley's manuscript. He points out that the word hangatamaki, which is very freely used in descriptions of illness, covers a large range of disorders, principally of the

40: Moulton M-4,5 (ca.1880-1920)
1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

643 of steps. This was called a *langi*, or 'heaven'; and
195 many of them remain in tolerable preservation, and
764 excite the wonder of the visitor by the huge size of many of the stones, some of which measure over 20 ft. in length.

173 Many, probably most, of the names of the Tu'i
643 Tonga have been preserved, and their history curiously reminds us of the story of the Carlovingians and Merovingians in France. One of the Tu'i Tonga, called Takalaua, was murdered, and his son and successor Kau'ulufonuafekai, from weariness or fear, devolved the duties of government on his younger brother, reserving to himself the honours and emoluments of the office. His brother assumed the title of Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua ('King of the Takalauans'), and soon got all the power into his hands, the Tu'i Tonga becoming a *roi fainéant*. After a few generations, however, the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua became effete, and the government was handed over to another branch, called the Tu'i Kanokubolu ('King of Kanokubolu,' the town in which he lived). This
643 is the title of the present dynasty. Representatives of the other two lines, however, still exist,
[195] but the titles are not used. The representative, however, of the Tu'i Tonga holds even now a quasi-sacred position, and is still addressed as the gods used to be; and words sacred to deity are used for all his movements.

114 Mariner mentions another semi-divine person called the Veachi (vol. ii. p. 80). This part of his narrative is very perplexing, as neither Vesson nor Thomas nor any of the modern chiefs knows anything about him.

192 The word used all over Polynesia for 'religion,' 'worship,' 'prayer,' etc., is *lotu*. Fortunately this has a meaning in Tongan, and signifies 'a seeking for something that is hard to find.' Thus when famine prevails, the people *lotu kai*, i.e. go all over the land looking for food. It is also used for the restlessness of a caged animal seeking an outlet, and for the cry of an animal for its mate or
192 companions. This is not the only word common
197 to Polynesia which finds its meaning in Tongan. *Tabu* (or *taboo*), now of world-wide use, signifies in Tongan that something which might be opened is closed. These and other considerations lead one to think that the Tongan language comes nearer than most of the dialects to the original Polynesian tongue.

782 3. The religious rites of the Tongans were few. There was nothing in their religion corresponding to our idea of worship. If they wanted something
782 —rain, fair winds, good crops, successful fishery—
789 or if they wished to prevent some calamity—such as sickness, death, hurricanes, war—they would seek the favour of a god, would offer sacrifice and pray. But to come into his temple, to worship, to
771 sing his praises, to dwell upon his attributes—this was a foreign idea altogether. Hence there was very little in the Tongan religion to cultivate the
181 conscience, or to control the passions, or to elevate the thoughts. Mariner thinks otherwise, and we would gladly believe his favourable report of the
181 Tongan character. But all our information—and
114 much of it goes back to Mariner's time—contradicts his statements. He even contradicts himself. The Feenow he speaks so highly of was a monster of iniquity; and there is no doubt that for centuries theft, murder, lust, treachery, and almost everything in the catalogue of evil, have been rife in Tonga. No man's life or property, and no woman's honour, was safe for a day.

782 They never went to their gods empty-handed; a piece of kava root for making the native drink was
[793] a *sine qua non*. Baskets of food, too, were usually brought in addition, and presented to the god or his priest. One of the party would then state the object of their visit, and implore the deity to grant their request, or use his influence with the gods of

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

The commoners followed their chiefs as they had always done, for fear of immediate punishment and divine retribution.

For their own interest the priests, in particular, were anxious to keep the commoners' fear alive. Although the priestly class in Tonga did not have the same socio-political importance which the members of their order enjoyed in some other places in the Pacific, they were still treated by the Tongan people with considerable respect and fear. The veneration offered to a priest depended upon the rank of the god who inspired him. Although the power of the priests was second only to that of the chiefs, it was more religious in nature. Their power to curse *(talatuki)* was revered by all (West 1865:257). They were always consulted as to the will of the gods with regard to sickness, natural disaster. voyages, war and so on, and a very high fee was charged for the consultation (Watkin, Journal, 7 Feb. 1834).

It was obvious from the beginning that the intrusion of Christianity, with its strange and more sophisticated order of priesthood, meant the decline and in due course the disappearance of the traditional priesthood, together with all the power, honour and privileges its members had enjoyed for centuries. This was a significant loss and, as might be expected, the members of the old order were prepared to fight to retain their position.

Describing the state of affairs in his station Thomas (1879:57) wrote:

> The priest and priestess now seeing that . . . the Tonga worship was being brought into great discredit, they gave utterances—while inspired by the gods, which roused some of the chiefs, who favoured them, to use means to put a stop to these disorderly proceedings. Some common persons, who had been bold enough to slight, or cast away the Tonga gods were beaten—and others were threatened—and all were termed foolish who had taken up at once with this new thing, which the *papalangis*—foreigners had brought.

After the death of a man at Hihifo, old Fai'ana, the priestess, told the people that she had a dream in which the deceased had told her that the missionaries had informed him that if he joined the *lotu* he would not die, intimating that the missionaries had lied (Thomas, Journal, 30 Jan. 1829). Again, after a severe storm one priest told the people that Pulotu Kātoa (one of the most

/251 cont./

771 intelligent men are convinced that spirits exist (671)
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671. These are today known as tevolo (devils), as a result of mission work.

and are seized with cold fear, for example, while riding horseback at night in bushland. It sometimes happens that Tongans report [787] ghastly experiences which they allegedly had with such spirits. Some 771 198 natives also believe, as they did in the past, (672)

672. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 236.

787 825 that the call of the sikota bird announces disaster and that it embodies the voice of a dead person. The fata is similarly regarded [163] as a bird of death; if they hear it at night, the early death of a villager may be expected. The tapu that has degenerated to nothing 784 more than simple magic in the form of using taboo against theft on 789 685 198 field products and fruit trees by means of /attaching/ bunches of foilage (673)

[753] 673. Leaves wrapped in raw tapa (feta'aki) with a strip of feta'aki hanging on it to mark it; the thief stealing fruit on which a taboo has been placed is supposed to be punished with certain illnesses (for example, ulcers, paralysis).

was still used up to a few decades ago; today the natives rely on their own vigilance, and in places where they suspect plantation thefts they station cooperative groups of watchmen. (674)

[753] 674. See also pp. 99-102 on taboo in present-day Tonga; some natives also still believe that it is not good to take food leftovers and cigarettes from a chief; ulcers on the chin area are supposed to be the consequence.

773 198 The beautiful old myths are mostly forgotten, except for those that are today taught in the schools and that have kept the character of fairy tales that people like to listen to but that they do not believe to be true. When earthquakes, which are frequent in Tonga,

/251 cont./ When earthquakes, which are frequent in Tonga,
773 occur, some people, as in old times, (675)
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796 still make a noise in order to quiet the demigod Maui who carries the earth on his shoulders and, on such occasions, moves because of his uncomfortable position; not all natives, however, are aware of the meaning of this noise-making.

675. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 120; J. Wilson, A missionary voyage /cited in English/. pp. 277/278.

346 Today, every Tongan village has several churches, and even settlement on the tiniest islands of the Archipelago are not satisfied with only one of these more or less simple houses of God. The
795 reason is /252/ that there are now seven different denominations among
794 this people of 50,000 souls: the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, the Free Church of Tonga, the Church of Tonga, the Roman Catholic Church, the Latter Day Saints, (Mormons) the Seventh Day Adventists and the Church of England /all cited in English/. The Mormons, the Adventists and the Church of England have been working for only a few decades in Tonga, and have only a small following so far. A larger number of Tongans belong to the Catholic church, which has done mission work in the Archipelago since 1842, but even they are a minority compared to most of the nation which is Wesleyan. The Wesleyans are split up into three churches of which the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga is the largest and comprises more than half of all Tongans.

The reasons for the origin of three Wesleyan churches are the following:

Around the middle of the previous century practically all Tongans were Christians, and the great majority of them were Wesleyans. They belonged to the Wesleyan (Mission) Church of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church which was under the authority of the Australasian Conference. In 1885 King George Tupou I, with the aid